1: Maes--36 E-6 (1913-1914) 1924 FOR2 Mongo FOR2

among the Bauluma. [Ed., the remainder of the chapter, through page 54, is not translated.]

[56] Chapter 3

The Native's Means of Subsistence

Animal husbandry: chickens, goats, dogs. -- Agriculture: manioc, maize, rice, bananas, peanuts. -- Hunting: weapons, snares, skill, individual method, communal hunting. -- Fishing: general method, dams, basket weirs, traps, harpoons, bows and arrows, cord nets, screens.

The peoples of the Congo-Kasai-Lake Leopold II region and of the Lulonia do very little animal husbandry. They possess no large animals. At most one may find a few chickens, rare goats, and some hunting dogs in their villages. The dogs get a share of the game and live as best they can the rest of the time.

No care whatever is given to the goats. They wander freely during the day and graze in the forest or plain. Sometimes they venture into the planted fields, from which the hunting dogs chase them at first sight. At night they return to the village and take shelter where they will. During our stay in the village of Toipolo, they even came and disturbed us at night while we were lodged in the hut reserved for strangers.

The chickens wander around the village and planted areas during the day and sleep [56] at night in the native's hut, where they have their nest for laying eggs and a place to hatch them.

The native does not eat the eggs. He sells them to agents of the state or of commercial concerns, who collect them for hatching. The chicken itself is rarely eaten by the native. Most often it goes to the kitchens of the Europeans. In 1913-14 the average price of a chicken was half a franc, that of an egg, five centimes, and the price of a goat was from five to 15 francs.

1: Mam--63 E-6 (1913-1914) 1924 FOR2 Monge FOR2

257 476

flowers of palm trees are not sufficiently abundant to permit exploitation on a large scale. The women scarcely manage to gather enough material to make the salt needed for everyday life. The whole village takes part in the harvest. The incineration and extraction of the salt is done in the village by the process we have just described, but the product is divided among all the families in proportion to the number of their respective members. The quantity available is usually so small that it is barely sufficient for daily needs; hence the value of salt here is notably higher than among the peoples of the regions where salt grass is abundant. [Ed., the text is not translated from the second paragraph, page 115, to the end of the section, page 116.]

[45]

Fig. 66. Calabashes for Salt, Lake Leopold II.

[118] Preparation of Food

• 263 Manioc may be regarded as the principal food, the dietary staple of all the peoples in the region visited.

From the Bateke of Leopoldville to the Bankundu of Bena Dibele-Kole, [118] all the tribes cultivate manioc, gather the tubers, soak them, and extract the flour with which they make chikwangue.

• 342 The natives are familiar with two kinds of manioc, sweet and bitter.

Sweet manioc is not highly valued, owing to its insipid taste and the poor consistency of the chikwangue made from it.

352 Aside from the soaking, which is done only for bitter manioc, chikwangue is prepared in the same way whether the flour comes from sweet or bitter manioc.

The first harvest of manioc tubers takes place eight to ten months after planting. The natives, however, do not begin harvesting them in earnest until the second year. Only the women [363] does this work.

[365] The manioc tubers are piled in large baskets carried on the back and taken to the soaking well, a pond of putrid, dirty, muddy water giving off a highly unpleasant odor of putrefaction and fermentation, which is reserved for this task.

[366] [367] The manioc roots remain submerged from five to eight days to make them ferment and thus eliminate their bitter taste. At the end of this period the woman returns to the pond, tucks up her primitive loincloth as high as possible and enters the swamp. She sinks in up to her knees, and plunging her hands and arms into the mire, she pulls out the roots one by one and throws them on the bank. When her supply seems sufficient, she piles the roots in her basket and goes to wash them in the river. Returning to the village, she cuts the tubers, lets them dry a little in the sun, and then peels them. The Bakwa, Bankumungu, and all the tribes of the Fimi-Lake Leopold II-Lulonga region, up to the boundaries of Bokote and Bakwa territory, chop the pieces of manioc root before reducing them to flour, while the Iyenga, Bolia, Twelima and Bokala crush them between the fingers before throwing them between the fingers before throwing them in the mortar.

[371] The chikwangue knife has a double-edged blade, a median rib, and a long, relatively broad oval form. It is pointed at both ends. One of these ends is [131] embedded in a wooden handle with a doubly concave vertical section.

The museum [Ed., Museum of the Belgian Congo] now has only two of these knives, but they are found in every native hut in the Kwati-Fimi-Lulonga region up to the Ubwa sector. It is, however, almost impossible to buy them from the natives. A woman, unable to do without her chikwangue knife a single day

I: Mash--90 E-5 (1913-1914) 1934 FO32 Mongo FO32
Dumpit FO6.

The natives do not care for them very much; they regard them as impractical for preparing chikwangue, but readily use them to dry and smoke their provisions.

Beyond the Twelima, notably among the peoples of the Bena Dibele-Kole region, the pottery used to cook manioc roots [136] is more reminiscent of the old earthenware cooking pots of Europe. It is spheroid in shape, very symmetrical, with the neck curved out a little, rounded, and slightly arched. The upper part of the body is decorated with broad circular lines, small arcs, and little dots. These pots are a mottled brownish-black in color and are lightly glazed.

Here, too, the chikwangue are cooked by steam. It must be noted, however, that chikwangue does not play the same important role in the diet of the peoples of the Bena Dibele-Kole region, although it is still one of the chief elements even now.

The Bamongo-Nkutu and Basiondolo also eat kifunge, a massive bread which is prepared in the following way. The

Fig. 72. Chikwangue brought to the Pool.

housewife has flour in a large earthenware receptacle with a rounded bottom. It is shaped like a wide, spheroidal calotte, with the body almost straight, but in any case having sharp edges, and the neck slightly flared but not arched. When the water begins to boil, she throws in the manioc flour a little at a time, stirring constantly with a [137] long spatula of polished wood. When the flour has absorbed practically all the water, the vessel is taken off the fire, and more manioc flour is added while

with palm oil and pili-pili pepper. Whenever the opportunity arises, the native adds fish or meat to it. The dish is very highly regarded among all the peoples of the Bateke-Yaelima region, but it should be regarded as a luxury which the family can afford only on special occasions. [128]

The sweet manioc tuber, cooked in ashes, is a more common dish. It is served very hot with slips of manioc greens prepared as vegetables.

Sweet potatoes, which are widespread throughout the region, are peeled, boiled in water, mashed, mixed with palm oil, and served with meat or fish.

Peanuts are eaten boiled or roasted, or sometimes the women crush them raw and mix them with manioc flour or use them instead of palm oil in preparing the meals.

Although the natives eat few vegetables, except yams and sweet potatoes, their diet from time to time includes spinach, native sorrel, small tomatoes, a type of purslane, and leaves of all sorts which the women gather in the forest. The housewife pulverizes them in her small mortar with a cylindrical pestle and stews them over a low fire in small earthenware pots.

Among certain tribes, notably the Bokala and Yaelima, these small pots have an earthenware lid with a small vertical lug, while in other regions the woman covers her pot while it is on the fire with part of a calabash, a piece of bark, or the bottom of an ordinary pot.

Bananas play a major part in the native diet. From Leopoldville to Kole, we found banana trees in all the villages, both near the state posts and far into the interior of the country. Bananas are eaten raw, roasted, stewed, dried in the sun or smoked on grids. Dried bananas are reduced to flour and served as mush with other dishes.

Meat is greedily devoured by all these peoples, regardless of its origin or condition. The native must content himself with what chance brings him, the game from his hunting, and what the Mundele [Ed., White men] leave for him. The natives do not have enough practical means at their disposal to secure an abundant diet of meat. In the villages of the interior, meat is [130] seldom eaten. The prospect of a good share of meat is enough to get the native to do the hardest kind of work. In the

course of our journey, our bearers never complained about long marches, heavy loads, or fatigue, as long as they got their ration of one or two kilograms of meat every evening.

The native is passionately fond of meat, and nothing absolutely nothing, is wasted of the animals killed in hunting. The intestines are especially prized. The natives empty them very hastily and do not hesitate to eat them raw. Most often, however, they cut them into small pieces and boil them in big earthenware pots. The fat is very carefully collected and stored for subsequent use in the preparation of vegetables and sauces. The rest is served with vegetables, chikwangue, kifune, etc.

The meat is cut into small pieces, seasoned with a little palm oil, pepper, and salt, and placed on the fire to boil. It is cooked in small pots which also serve as plates.

Among the western Betsike and Bestumungu(in the region of Tua, Kunsulu, and Kwamouth), these utensils are very similar to bowls in shape. The bottom is round, and the rim is straight, slightly flared or arched, and not very high.

Among the eastern Bestumungu (in the region of Tua and Bokala), on the other hand, these utensils have an altogether different shape, little known up to now: a wide, spherical calotte, whose rim: two or three centimeters wide, is bent inward and shows a distinctly horizontal surface.

Among the Bakoma in the region of Bokala, Wombali, and Mushie, as well as among the western Wadia and Basakata, the rim of these bowls has the same characteristic inward curve, but the sides are much more symmetrical and better finished. Moreover, the shape is slightly different. The bottom is round and very flat; the body is shallow and curved slightly inward; and the rim is turned back in horizontally. [131]

The inward curve of the sides of some pottery, terminating in an inward, horizontal rim, is a characteristic that we find again, although much less pronounced, in the bowls used for the same purpose by the Mongongo, Tumbe, Bokala, Basakata, and Bakwa. All of these peoples thus seem to have a certain ethnic relationship characterized by this special form of pottery rim. The general shape of the various vessels we gathered in this region,

We did not find this particular kind of pottery beyond the Bateke area. The Ipanga-Tsetima, as well as the Bosongo-Mono and Baskutshu, do not seem to be aware of its existence and, in any case, do not use it. [136]

I come now to the important subject of palm oil. We have already noted how frequently the native housewife uses it in preparing meals. This oil takes the place of the butter and fats used in European cooking. Gathering the clusters of palm nuts and making the oil are very important among all the tribes.

The remarks of Mr. Engels on this subject in his work on the Wangata [Ngata] are applicable to all the peoples we visited.

In each village one or several natives chosen from the nimblest and most daring (the local devils-in) specialize in gathering the clusters from the palm trees. They do this not only for themselves, but also for others for a slight fee.

Gathering these clusters is always somewhat dangerous. The native must climb to the top of palm trees which are sometimes

Fig. 78. Mortar and Pestle for Preparing Vegetables and Palm Oil.

20 to 25 meters high and, once there, must work hard to disentangle and sever the cluster.

The method of climbing varies according to the height of the palm tree. We noted two different procedures among all the tribes visited (see Fig. 79). [137]

If the palm tree is not high, the native climbs to the cluster by using the stubs of cut leaves as steps. If the tree is very high, the native uses a rattan belt which encircles both man and tree trunk.

Nothing is more interesting than to watch a native climb up to the crown of a palm tree. He does it with truly extraordinary

/

to which a piece of raffia cloth is tied. When the procession has crossed the last barrier, the official witness goes ahead and places the spear in the roof of the head of the family's hut. Hence the name applied specifically to this spear: nlwenemlɔ́ (from tlwa, "to pierce," and nsemlɔ́ "roof"). The spear signifies that the widower's family is not coming with evil intentions, but that they are moved by feelings of the greatest friendship -- wɛ́lɔ́a sɛ tɛ́tɛ́yɛ́ l'ɛnsɔ́lɔ; tɔ́yɛ́ nɔ́ɛ́ ótɔ́ɔ́lɔ́ɛ́ lɔ́kɔ́ y'ɛ́ɛ́.

The piece of cloth is a sign of respect for the mother of the deceased, in memory of the pain she suffered in giving birth to her daughter and the care she exercised in her upbringing, and as consolation for the terrible blow that has come to her in the death of her child. She will wear this cloth after the end of mourning. If the mother has died before her daughter, this cloth goes to one of the mother's sisters, aunts, or other relatives, who is in some sense her substitute. It is therefore a payment to the mother's clan.

The spear and the cloth are usually designated by the common name lɔ́kɔ́ngɛ́ l'ɛnsɔ́lɔ, "spear and cloth." A knife, particularly an ingɔ́ndɛ́, can be substituted for the cloth, but the name nsɔ́lɔ is retained. Nowadays the cloth is no longer given, but a knife which is given the name nsɔ́lɔ is always substituted for it. (1) Nevertheless,

[284]

1. The reason for this substitution is, first of all, the greater value of the knife and, second, the near impossibility of obtaining raffia cloth (see Introduction).

in memory of [431] the ancient custom, a piece of European cloth is often attached to the end of the spear.

When the corpse has been deposited in the head of the family's hut, the two clans greet each other in the usual fashion. The women continue to weep for some time. The husband's clan go and sit at a little distance. Then the relatives of the deceased instruct their wives to collect the presents to give the widower.

[285]
[431]

These consist of various foods: manioc, bananas, cooked meat or fish, caterpillars, salt, lamu, etc., one or several dogs (bompâkɛ) that are alive (mbwá ká nkunja, "dog with bad"); or their value in specie (2 rings or 1 ring and an equivalent knife, which for this purpose is called mbwá ká bolindá or ká bokonga). as well as a knife for killing and cutting up animals called bolíndo. The bilíanyi and the bolíndo each bring his part. Note that this gift never includes vegetables (bimuddi).

When everything is collected and considered adequate, the nkonga is called, together with the deceased's own sons, so that they can thus give their opinion and later have a good basis for testimony. As remuneration for his services, the nkonga receives a payment (nyonga) of a bolíndo fish or a bolíndo rat, as well as a bunch of bananas (for which a ring is sometimes substituted). With reference to this subject I should like to recount an interesting part of the negotiations at which I was present one day. The nkonga expressed his dissatisfaction with the fact that he was given only a single bolíndo. "It is so little," he said, "in comparison with all the trouble I had to take. I had to settle the matter of the bride price; I had to reconcile man and wife when they quarreled; I had to intervene many times; I always had to run between the two clans; for many years I was myself out without ever having any rest. And for all that trouble I get such small recompense." I was asked my opinion. I could only express approval of the nkonga's view. One of the relatives [433] of the deceased also considered him to be right: "He was always obliged to come and go between the two families; his voice has become hoarse from his endless interventions in palavers and quarrels; he well deserves it if another bolíndo be added." Everyone sided with our opinion, and the nkonga was satisfied.

After receiving his present, the nkonga detaches himself from the group. Together with the other bamondelowá and any intelligent stranger who may be present and might be able to give an opinion to settle an incidental argument, he sits down between the two opposing clans, a slight distance from each.

3) They must not climb up on the roof (they are not forbidden to climb a palm tree in order to cut off nuts).

4) They must not eat animals killed by a carnivore (leopard, crocodile, etc.), or the child would die a sudden and unnatural death like the victims of such wild beasts. [480]

5) They must abstain from animals such as porcupines, anteaters, certain birds, crocodiles, and gavials, (1) who are in

> 1. In this region women never eat snakes or bats (loléma, lɔnkɔkɔ́, ɔ́kɔ́yɔ́).

the habit of living in the hollows of trees or in dens. The delivery would be very painful if they ate them, for the child would roll up and crouch in the mother's womb. Fish that find shelter in passageways do not produce such consequences and are therefore eaten.

6) They must not eat turtles (2). A very difficult birth

> 2. In some tribes (Bongili, Bonkoso) women always abstain from eating such reptiles.

is feared, for the turtle withdraws into its shell and encloses its anal extremities as in a vise, and the child would do the same.

7) They must not eat the head of a monkey. The child would be born with deep-set eyes resembling the monkey's.

8) They must not eat the large antelope known as mbɔ́lí, because it has a long neck and flabby flesh, and the child would acquire the same defects.

9) They must not eat the lɔ́ɔ́lí fish, which would cause migraines, since it swims fiercely without direction.

The results of bɔ́lɛ́kɛ́ and the obligations resulting from it are connected with natural paternity. Thus, if a woman becomes pregnant as a result of relations with a regular, recognized lover, the latter must assume all responsibility. He is required to "loosen the fence" and to observe all the regulations pertaining to the

Nkundo
Lyonse FO4
Ekonda

for and fed so that she may regain her strength rapidly. [486]

3. Seclusion

After childbirth the mother remains secluded (-ɔkama) in her hut for several weeks -- two, three, or more, depending on circumstances and especially on her husband's social position. Her seclusion is called jolé. The hut bears the same name, or else it is called jonge, "palm leaf." Sometimes the term ekolé is also applied to it, denoting the period of seclusion with all the special regulations it involves. These are as follows:

1) Meals. In some tribes the woman may already eat on the day of the delivery. But among others she is only permitted to drink. The reason for this fast is given in the form of a legend. One day long ago a Bɔnwa asked his master for a little millet, but the master refused to give it to him. The master's wife had just given birth. Annoyed by the refusal, the Bɔnwa cursed his master, saying: "From now on your women will have to fast the day they give birth." (1) Another explanation is that at sometime in the

1. Bɔnwa women never fast under such circumstances.

past someone refused food to a slave who was about to be sacrificed at a feast of the lifting of mourning. Tribes and villages that do not give any reason of this sort permit a woman to eat in the evening, if the delivery takes place in the morning.

A mother's first meal is prepared by a woman who has performed the carnal act the preceding night. She goes to draw water, and on her return she fumes or smokes over the door of the seclusion hut a piece of palm (jonge) or, among the Bɔnkwanja, a piece of dried banana leaf; in this way she informs everyone that it is a house of ekolé. Then she prepares the food, which consists of bananas with fish or a hen in palm-oil sauce. It is eaten by the mother and her husband as well as the cook. Their very young children may also delight in it, but [487] the older ones, approaching puberty, may not. The newborn child is given a tiny bit of the sauce to taste.

§57 Note, finally, that the confession is restricted to married
783 women. It is never expected of a young unmarried mother. There-
§53 fore it would seem to be a practice connected with marriage (a
social institution) and not with childbirth (a physiological phenome-
non).

This confession is called *esato* or *lowato*, from the verb
[492] *-sata*, "to confess," (for which the generic term, *senga*, "to say,"
is sometimes substituted).

I was unable to find any reason for this practice other than that of avoiding the death of the child. It is evident, however, that this explanation does not exhaust the question, although it is entirely possible that the original and deeper meaning has been lost without leaving any trace in the minds of the present generation. [496]

3) During the entire duration of nursing, the mother must
§53 not be separated from her child. For the usual circumstances of
§53 daily life, this rule is broadly interpreted; but during sexual rela-
tions it is strict, and no exceptions or excuses are permitted. Negli-
gence under these circumstances would inevitably bring about the
death of the child by *ndena* as soon as the mother took it back.
This rule holds for legitimate relations as much as for illicit ones.
Therefore the mother must always keep her child at her breast.

4) If at some point during nursing, the milk no longer flows
§53 in sufficient quantity, the mother is given a potion consisting of
[751] the extract of the bark of the *bolingi* tree (which has a fruit con-
[218] taining a very sweet milky sap). Then she eats vegetables called
londid. (1)

> 1. The leaves of this plant are also ordinarily eaten as vegetables, but they are consumed especially by those who possess the modern magical practice known as *boyaki*.

5) An *accident* to which the Nkundó attach great importance
● [262] is the rejection or vomiting of milk into the mouth of an adult, even if the person affected is the infant's mother. Such a person

2: Holmart--465 M-S (ca. 1930) 1938 FOIS Mongo FOIS
Nkundo

853 they not eat meat if the child is male, or fish if it is female, un-
262 til the child in question is grown and kills either an animal (or
bird) or a fish, according to the case, and has given it to the vic-
tim of the accident. If the child dies young, the person is accused
of having violated the prohibition and is obliged to pay a large
indemnity. This extremity is not usually reached, however, for
the one to whom the accident has befallen scrupulously keeps away
from everything that might cause this sort of murder. Then, if
death occurs and he has nothing with which to reproach himself,
he can resort to an ordeal or to the verdict of a test based on super-
stition. In addition in villages that have farms, a woman of that
[263] race must nurse the child for an instant after the accident before
its mother gives it her breast again. [497]

6) The child is carried on the shoulder, and as soon as it is
854 capable of holding on, on the hip. It does not take many weeks
for it to become accustomed to that position. When the mother
has to hold it for a long period of time (during a march, on a trip,
etc.), she puts it in a scarf-shoulder strap (lipanda), made from
creepers that are scraped and woven as for a mat, or from a cloth
of raffia fibers, or even from a pelt (nowadays it is often made from
a piece of European cloth). The scarf must be sturdy, for were it
to tear and the infant fall, far-reaching consequences would result;
all of that woman's subsequent children would be condemned to die
in the mother's womb or during the period of nursing.

As the child grows it is sometimes carried astride the
mother's back, either because she does not like to be separated from
it, or because the tyranny of the little one forces her to keep it
with her even during her work, errands, and even dances. She
remedies this awkward situation if possible by resorting to the
assistance of an older girl, a young niece or cousin, or a little boy
from among the immediate kin.

When the child rests during the day, it is laid on an ordi-
nary bed or on a moveable bed (bokoyo), without any special arrange-
ments. It has no difficulty sleeping soundly on such hard couches.

7) Weaning. Although a child is gradually accustomed
855 to solid food, it does not stop nursing. As it grows older, the
nursing times are spaced farther and farther apart. But the child

[118] parents to the dance, they must go. When the mother passes a crossroads or the dwelling place of a spirit or an ekong (a place where the Ekondi gather for magical practices, oracles, etc.), she also sings and dances in honor of the spirit, so that he will favor her children. Various songs are popular, such as: Ellen'é'ámbé tongélela yelí yeye, "Spirit of Ámbé, do not weep. (1) Bolélo le

1. Tongélela is an archaic form still in use among the Ekondi, etc.

bílélyé'é'ámbé nellédié tonyongéd, nzébé bilingui yelí yeye. "Ámbé'a bolélo and bílélyé, do not become yourself, do not sin, do not eat bilingui mushrooms"; bolélo'a bílélyé ngéwéle ngéy' nyango yelí yeye. "Bolélo and bílélyé, I surround my mother with abundance"; bolélo'a bílélyé ilí ngong ilí ngondé yelí yeye. "I shall fall ill, and yet I will walk (be well)"; bolélo'a bílélyé, bilea bekelenene yelí yeye. "difficult childbirth," etc.

[117] Foods forbidden to twins are the mushrooms called bilingui (or bilingundu or bankándúdú), the mpondí antelope, and the bat pem, which is also forbidden to parents whose child is not yet weaned. (2)

2. This prohibition extends to all food cooked in pots in which such forbidden foods have been prepared. The extension is characteristic of all alimentary prohibitions.

[119] When traveling, the parents of twins gird themselves with the creeping plant called bayoyango, or wear it like a strap over the shoulder. The mother also attaches a bell to it. Their hair is often adorned with two feathers from the tail of a gray parrot (ekwan) and two feathers from a white hen. [504]

[120] The greeting to parents of twins and their reply must always be double: w'ébé w'ébé, the reply ewébé ewébé; ebé, ebé, the reply bíbe bíbe. Note that the last greeting is not replied to differently

In other respects he is not differentiated from the other two. Greetings are not tripled in the case of triplets.

A child born directly after twins is called Wate)i (from ute)e, "to repeat"). He is in no way different from other children.

Article VII. Circumcision

Circumcision is generally practiced. It does not have to be performed at any particular age. It is usually done during childhood before the tenth year. The more timorous put it off until puberty or even later. Special customs of individual clans sometimes set a time. Thus, a man of the village of Bamombi is not allowed to be circumcised until he has killed an animal at the hunt. On the other hand, the season during which circumcisions are performed is specified: they must take place during the period when the water level is low.

The operation may be performed by any man who is expert at it. It is carried out behind the huts. No one but the boys being operated on and their fathers are present. The boys stand in a group somewhat apart from the proceedings but place themselves so that with their eyes they can follow the treatment to which their companion is being subjected. The patient squats. One of the elderly assistants places his hands over the boy's eyes so that he cannot see what is happening. The person performing the operation has already dug a small pit to catch the blood. He pulls the foreskin, ties it with a string, and then uses ashes to trace the line which must be followed by the cutting knife that is used on such occasions. When the blood has stopped flowing, he chews some lumbingi pepper (Afromomum . . .) or, preferably, [506] a caudal fin of the eagle fish and then spits it onto the wound. The resulting sensation is very painful. But the patient shows that he is brave; for if he cries he is mocked by his companions.

As long as the wound is not healed, the boy must not eat manioc leaves (bangilo) or manioc bread in the preparation of bosombi or lobia. He may he eat the skin, head, or tail of fish.

While the wound is healing, the boy who has been circumcised is cared for, washed, etc., by his mother or, if he has reached

T.Brown M-5 (ca. 1940) 1944 FO32 Mongo FO32
Nkumba

and that he may have no more than a month or perhaps a year in which to live and will surely die speedily.

The special objects attaching to the office of nkumu, among these the hat, sword, and wand, mbata, are at the same time subject to similar magical acts to determine whether they may be produced for the new nkumu's use. They are not powers, being in the possession of the mulombo which will oppose him, but are mentioned by name. Apart from the sword, no further company is required to identify these objects with their future owner.

The songe ended, the Nkumu Alulu smears black mbili all over his body again, before the elders begin to determine which of his wives is to be known as Nsumu, the one who will be closest to her husband throughout his days. For this, magic formulae (lomandu, sing. mandu) are used. All the wives sit round in a circle and the elders place some irritant such as ground pepper in the eyes of all the women. The wife whose eyes stream most and whose discomfort is also accompanied by a violent shaking of the body is known to be Nsumu. Here again, lying is believed to be out of the question, for the shaking of the body is something that is supposed to be impossible of simulation, the real being easily distinguished by all from the false. Nsumu is now stripped of all clothing and her body smeared by the nkunga with yellow clay on one side, and with white on the other. A belt of leaves is put round her waist and a small bit of cloth between the legs with each end attached to the belt. Next by a ground with "medicine" in it has been standing ready for the next step in the ceremonies, and this is now smeared with white clay, a parrot's feather stuck in the neck, and handed to Nsumu, who receives it in one hand. Into the other hand is put a section of plantain stalk, into one end of which has been stuck a parrot's feather. A third feather is placed in her mouth so that she cannot speak, greet anyone, or eat. She is now tied with a cord which is held by one of the young men attending Nkumu Alulu. At this point of the procedure the nkunga names his price for his work, which will be in the neighbourhood of one hundred brass rods, worth two-day about fifty francs, but formerly double that amount. The future nkumu, accompanied as before, leaves for the village of the mulombo. Nsumu starts off at a somewhat slow pace, for she is now imbued with a sort of fanatical strength, and for this reason has been tied up and put in charge of a strong young man, otherwise she would be off so fast that no one could catch her, and would go into the forest, where she would live for days unseen.

In the village of the mulombo the party all sit in an nkunga belonging to one of the elders. This is the place where the Tumba men really live—their houses are just sleeping and cooking establishments, but the nkunga, having a roof for shade and no walls, is the place where the men congregate and spend their leisure time. It is also the site of the village assizes, which takes up one end. Here, then, Nkumu Alulu and his party sit for a day and a night, and neither he nor Nsumu may eat food or drink wine during this period. Games are played by the mulombo—much lutting, dancing, and strange chiefly of lutela, and before the first streaks of dawn appear the group in the nkunga begins to march up and down the village singing.

At dawn the whole party, accompanied by a large crowd, make their way to a place in the bush where there is an elevation of some sort. Here Nkumu Alulu climbs up and takes his stand, accompanied by Nsumu. Now the mulombo choose the Bilipe

An *nkumu* can never walk alone, but must always be accompanied by others, and on no occasion whatsoever may he run. Even though he never wastes, if he is out in the rain and sees everybody else hurrying for shelter, he will not quicken his pace. His movements must be slow and deliberate. The *nkumu* never sleeps alone; walking and sleeping he is attended by someone. But apart from this he is free to go where he wishes. The *nkumu* is not indiscriminate, as others may be, in his private habits, but must use his own latrine at all times, and if travelling must have his own latrine in each place where he stays. The inland *nkumu* frequently take advantage of this custom by hiding their accumulated brass rods at the bottom of a freshly dug latrine. Such hidden wealth will be acquired by an inheritor at the decease of the *nkumu*.

In speaking of himself the *nkumu* never refers to himself by his title but always by his own name.

The couch upon which the *nkumu* sits or reclines during the daytime may not be shared indiscriminately with others, but those permitted to sit upon it at the same time as the *nkumu* are women, women, and Batwa. The reservation of this couch for the use of the *nkumu* is not surprising, but the exceptions are. One explanation given was that women and Batwa are not here to see, persons in particular; they do not count for anything in the social life of the community; they are not really "people". Another explanation was that they do not pay fines, this being synonymous to saying that they are exempt from laws and therefore cannot break laws even by doing what would be for others an illegal act. The stool of the *nkumu*, however, has closer associations in the manner of its use. Besides the *nkumu* only two others may sit upon it, *Nsame* and *Mpanga*. It is always carried by one of his wives, though not necessarily by any special one.

The restrictions concerning the food of the *nkumu* are many. He may eat food only in his own house, or, if on a journey, in one given over for his use. He may not enter another house to partake of food even if invited to do so. Likewise the *nkumu* may not eat in the forest, or eat or drink anywhere along the road when on a journey, but must wait until he arrives at a village and has a house at his disposal in order to partake of food and drink. He never "sleeps with hunger"; even if a wife or child should die causing him great sorrow he must partake of food before going to sleep. The Bongindo *nkumu* must never go into mourning, and death must be ignored by them, but the inland *nkumu* are permitted to mourn. All food carried to an *nkumu* must be covered, this rule even applying to water. Food must not be placed in a basket with high sides (*ekobi*), but in a shallow one (*mpasi*), and no food that has been kept overnight in a pot may be eaten by him: swelling of the abdomen will result. Various foods are taboo, among these all fast-moving snakes, though slow-moving ones may be eaten; light-coloured palm-nuts may not be eaten, and a variety of yam known as *mondo* is shunned, for it is with the rough stems of the *mondo* that the dying body of the *nkumu* will be bound to ensure the sitting posture necessary for burial.

Among regulations roughly classed as social, we have already covered several in references above, and have referred to the *nkumu* in council. It may be added here that he is expected to agree with the majority of the councillors and not fall out with them. The rules affecting the wife of the *nkumu* are accompanied by severe penalties. There must not be any fighting; if anger is aroused to the point of blows the antagonists

263

[illegible]

1: Mss--101 E-5 (1913-1914) 1924 FOlO2 Mango FOlO2

253 It consists of a large hole in the form of a truncated cone. The diameter of the upper part varies from 60 to 70 centimeters, that of the lower part from 20 to 30 centimeters, and the depth varies from 60 to 80 centimeters. The bottom and sides are lined with pieces of raffia stems, placed [137] [Fig. 80 appears here] [138] side by side with their rounded surfaces facing the interior of the pit. The nuts, which have been slightly boiled, are poured into this funnel, which serves as a mortar. The outer part is separated from the nut with a large wooden pestle. The kernels are discarded. The pulp is taken from the hole and tightly pressed between the hands to squeeze out the oil.

Near the funnel-shaped mortar dug in the ground, there is a bench made of two or four forked stakes, graduated in height, over which the natives place large sections of tree bark. The women throw the pulp from which the has extracted the oil on this bench, spreads it out, and lights a small fire under the wide sections of bark, which serve as drains. Under the influence of the heat, part of the oil remaining in the pulp flows out slowly and is caught in the earthenware vessel placed at the lower end of the drain. Finally, whatever palm oil remains in the pulp is squeezed [90] out by the various methods. For this purpose, the native has set up a large stationary bar, very strong, to which he attaches one end of a pressing apparatus made of young lianas and fine cords plaited together. The pulp, still hot, is placed in this press and wrung very tightly to extract every last drop of oil.

250 90 The natives collect and keep the palm oil in large pots covered with banana leaves, in calabashes, or, if possible, in imported bottles. Big demijohns stripped of their protective covering are in special demand for this purpose.

251 We have mentioned above the chief uses the native makes of palm oil in preparing food and the important role it plays in the diet of these primitives. Later we shall have occasion to mention palm oil again when we discuss the role it plays in native body care.

• 243 A word now about stimulants. Food in general, particularly meat, is always very strongly seasoned with condiments.

The most widespread stimulant is piri-piri, red pepper. This pepper, the fruit of Capsicum minimum, which is rarely more than one to one and a half centimeters long, is extremely hot. It grows

[text continues on p. 103]

263 wild [140] throughout the region we visited. All the tribes are acquainted with it and use it regularly.

230 252 263 Collecting and preparing pili-pili are tasks especially reserved to women. Upon returning from the fields, a woman spreads the fruits on a mat before her hut and lets them dry for five or six days. Sometimes she uses them fresh, mixing them with palm oil enhanced with salt. The native uses this sauce to season his dishes according to taste.

253 263 When the pili-pili is quite dry, the woman pulverizes it in a small wooden mortar with a cylindrical pestle or with a small piece of elephant's tusk. The shape of the mortars used for this purpose by the different peoples of the Lukenie varies a great deal. From the Bateke to the Batete, we found only very crude mortars hollowed out from the trunk of a tree. Among the Tselima and Iyenga this utensil is more carefully worked and finished. The shape is rather like that of a small rectangular box without a lid, but provided with a leg. Among the Basongo-Meno and Bankutshu of the Bena Dibele-Kole region, we collected very crudely shaped and primitive mortars, while others were well made and carefully carved. All of them, however, have the common characteristic of an elongated vertical form, and most of them have a leg. The pestles are always quite long.

We thus again find three ethnic zones characterized by the special shape of these utensils. Of course, this fact alone could not serve as the basis of any ethnic classification, but it might have a relative value and importance in drawing general conclusions based on the whole assemblage of the ethnic characteristics of these various peoples.

263 Once reduced to a fine powder, pili-pili pepper is mixed with salt to season food after cooking. All sauces are spiced with a generous pinch of this pepper. Meat is sprinkled with it, or even stuffed with whole peppers.

When the natives are traveling, they merely pick a few pili-pili and squeeze the juice into the food while it is cooking. [141]

276 The kola nut also is very well known as a stimulant and is widely used. The kola tree is found nearly everywhere. The natives gather the fruit and chew it. Women do not indulge.

276 842 According to native belief, the kola nut ensures the fertility of a woman if sexual relations take place the night after the man has used this stimulant.

276 The regular use of kola induces very intense nervous excitement. We noticed that the adolescents and men in their prime scarcely use it. Only the old people use it regularly. Kakus, the old native chief, chewed it from morning to night. One day I pointed this out to him, asking if he were not afraid of the dangerous effects of this overindulgence. He proudly pointed out to me the huts of his seven wives, saying, "Ask them if they don't have children!"

276 263 278 Among the stimulants we may also mention the peanut, widely used by all the tribes, a type of small ground pea, and certain tree roots known to the natives but the exact nature of which we unfortunately could not determine. It is well to note, moreover, that most of the natives use the stimulants as medicaments as well as condiments. They are used for intestinal pains, colic, and as purgatives.

Fig. 81. Carrying Firewood.

467 252 In all the tribes the preparation of food and meals is exclusively the task of women. They always do it with great care [142]

252 The kitchen, if it can be called one, is always very simple. If the weather is good, cooking is done in the open in the middle of the village, in front of the hut or behind it,

465 363 and very often in the shade of the banana trees. If the weather is rainy or cold, the woman prepares the meals inside the hut. [Ed., a passage is omitted here.]

264

264 EATING--regularity of eating; informal eating (e.g., between meals, at work or play); meals (e.g., hours, number per day, participation, composition); techniques of eating; table manners; sequels to eating (e.g., disposal of waste and excess food, cleaning of utensils); associated beliefs and practices; etc. *See also:*

Eating implements and utensils 42
Food preparation 395
Abstinence 810
Feasts and entertaining at meals 976
Etiquette 978
Military mess arrangements 766

I.Mees--91 E-S (1913-1914) 1914 FOND Mongo FOND
Dongola F816
Tshi FI 33

the mixture is stirred vigorously. This produces a sort of soft bread called kifunge by the natives. The Basikundu and Basonge-Meno also use maize or millet flour to make kifunge. Both are ground in the large mortars used to make manioc flour and are sifted through the basketwork sieves.

Kifunge is always eaten hot. The housewife serves it on a wooden plate previously rubbed with palm oil.

We thus see that the peoples of the Bena Dibele region are differentiated from the other tribes not only by their way of making manioc flour and the shape of the utensils used, mortar, pestle, sieve, and pottery, but also by the special use made of manioc flour and the use of maize and millet flour in making kifunge. There are then, in this respect, two ethnic groups which seem to be quite different from each other. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to determine whether kifunge is truly indigenous

Fig. 78. Bambe Pulverizing Manioc.

to the civilization of [128] these natives or was introduced by the Basonge-Balubo peoples of the Sankuru-Lubefu. When questioned on this subject, the natives sometimes told us that they had always made kifunge, while some old men claimed that kifunge was still unknown during their childhood.

As we have noted, the peoples west of the Bena Dibele-Kole region cultivate maize. This crop is of secondary importance except in the region of the Banfumungu of Kapanda and Engrei.

The natives eat three meals a day, in the morning, toward noon, and at night after sunset.

The wife is never allowed to eat with her husband or to eat in the same group as he does.

A chief always eats alone, far from the eyes of the common herd. [143]

Leftovers from the meals are ordinarily given to the women and children.

We did not find tables, spoons, or forks among any of the tribes we visited.

The food is put in small baskets of rattan or raffia ribbon,

Fig. 82. Native Outdoor Kitchen, Ipanga-Bantu Tribe.

plaited in openwork and lined with leaves on the bottom. Sometimes the plate is made of wood or baked clay.

Among the Bateke-Banfumungu, we collected some earthenware plates which look a great deal like European soup plates, but are less symmetrical in shape and deeper. Among the Baboma-Wadia-Bateke, on the other hand, the plates look more like our flat plates. Among the Ipanga-Yeelima, basketwork plates are chiefly used, while in the Bena Dibele-Kole region one finds the potter/ plate again, a sort of broadly flared,

L. Mass.--Afr. E-6 (1918-1919) 1920 FOR: Monga FOR:

spherical calabs, and also wooden plates. Sometimes also simple leaves are used as plates, unless the food is served in the cooking pan.

The whole meal is spread on the ground. [166]

The men squat on his mat and dip leisurely in the dishes with his hand, moving from one to another according to his taste.

The meal is always eaten in silence. Even when several friends eat together, they never talk during the meal.

After the meal the natives carefully wash their hands and teeth and rinse out their mouths several times.

Beverages

Water is the only beverage they drink at mealtime, and they use it quite rarely. If they do not have a wooden or earthenware cup, they use part of a calabash or simply a leaf rolled into a little cone.

Fig. 83. Water Carrier.

Water usually comes from a spring near the village. The natives use river water only when it is quite clear. The women and children have the task of fetching water, a chore which is often quite hard. I visited many villages located along or near the river, whose source of drinking water was 20 to 30 minutes away.

At certain hours of the day and more especially in the morning as the sun first comes up, the women and children set out, a calabash or water jug balanced on their heads, to fetch the supply for the day.

Water is kept in large calabashes or earthenware jugs, sheltered from the sun in a corner of the hut.

I: Woes--124 E-5 (1913-1914) 1924 FOR2 Mongo FOR2

walls are lined with mats, and the crude bed is raised off the ground to avoid unpleasant and unhealthy contact with the ground. A mat is spread over the native's bed, [165] and the pillow which is customarily used permits him to lie in a restful position.

The natives take a bath almost every day. They usually go to the river during the hottest hours of the day, but sometimes they do so early in the morning or in the evening. The child participates in this from an early age. Aside from these regular baths, the native often washes his whole body with warm water. He then smears himself with a light film of palm oil to ensure the suppleness of the skin and to protect it from the sun's rays.

Before and after each meal the native makes a point of washing out his mouth. After the meal he brushes his teeth with a small brush made of rattan or soft wood, the fibers acting as

Fig. 91. A Scene from Native Life among the Riparian People of the Lower Lukenie.

bristles.

Meals are prepared with a genuine concern for cleanliness. All the food is washed, cleaned, and boiled before being eaten. Kitchen utensils are cleaned and carefully put away. Despite the primitive conditions for preparing manioc flour, the product is as pure as if it had been prepared by an improved method

I: Mam--125 E-5 (1913-1914) 1924 FOR2 Mongo FOR2

with modern machinery. Not content with the mats of the utensils in which she serves the meals, the woman is careful to line them at mealtime with fresh and very clean leaves.

The natives keep the nails of their hands and feet cut short. The care of the feet is explained as a hygienic measure and by the necessity of taking precautions to avoid the vermin which like to get into these places (ticks). The care of the hands can be explained only by the concern for cleanliness shown in native eating habits.

Imported soap is not yet commonly used, although we found it in a number of native huts.

Many native women know how to make soap. The process is very simple. Dried banana skins, trunks of papaw trees, bark, the fruits of various vegetables, and waste from palm nuts are gathered together and burned. The ashes are carefully collected and mixed with some water for boiling them. At the first ebullition, the woman removes the ashes and impurities that [166] rise to the surface. Boiling is then continued until the evaporation is almost complete. When only a thick and syrupy greyish-black deposit is left, the woman takes it off the fire, washes it, and kneads it in cold water until it takes on a clearer color. She then adds palm oil, mixes it in with great care, and puts the lot back on the fire. The paste is stirred all through the boiling, which is continued until the woman obtains a mixture whose consistency is slightly firmer than that of our soft soaps. [Ed., a passage is omitted from mid-page 166 to mid-page 167.]

Native soap is used only in the care of the body.

[167] The native does not merely smear his body with palm oil. The men and especially the women often powder themselves with takula dust. The women prepare a cosmetic with this and love to cover their whole body with it in a spirit of coquetry. This practice is so widespread among the peoples of Lake Leopold II that the manufacture of ngula has become a veritable local industry in certain areas. This is especially true of the Mosengere. In a village near the Bongo post, we counted 35 installations for making ngula powder. The simplest set of materials includes two blocks of takula or redwood, a small receptacle containing water, a handful of sand, and a small hand or painting brush. One of the

Article III. Relations between Spouses; Their Various Rights and Duties

91° 113 Spouses are obliged to fulfill the duties and perform the tasks incumbent upon them.

It is difficult to say just how far the sense of duty to fulfill the debitum conjugale extends among the Nkundó. Normally, they very frequently fulfill this obligation toward each other. But after a good quarrel they abstain, either through mutual consent or because one of them refuses. If one of the parties fails seriously and repeatedly in this respect, the question is resolved by a divorce. The response to temporary lapses is limited to reprimands, disputes, blows, and other common reactions. It should be added that continence is required during the eleilf period after the birth of a child and after setting up a new hunting enclosure (lokumbo) or a new fishing weir (lonaka), before the third piece of a game or fish is caught.

1. Meals

92° 114 A couple never take their meals together. The husband eats the food prepared for him and served to him by his wife alone, with his grown sons, or with friends or relatives. The wife herself eats with her small children, her daughters, or her female relatives. The two sexes never mingle at meals.

93° 115 The same rule applies to talks, but it is much less strictly maintained; it is not rare to find that, for one reason or another, women participate in the conversation of men.

It will not be long before, through the influence of Christianity, [288] women will generally be admitted in the conversations of the opposite sex. Developments with respect to mixed meals will come with much more difficulty; in practice the question has not even been broached.

93° 116 [309] Thus one finds a kitchen next to the bedroom or separated from the hut; in addition to being the place where food is prepared, it is where the woman spends her day. The kitchen is sometimes a structure separated from the dwelling itself, sometimes a part of the house separated from the bedroom by a partition containing a door.

The Nkundó know no sanctions (mongó or bomyó), however, a means of getting rid of such annoying obstacles. Of the three known processes the last is especially common at present.

1) The husband (or any person to whom the wɔ́kɔ́ is attached and who wants to be rid of it) picks up a nkɔ́ngɔ́ (millepod, naturally by means of a leaf, encloses it in a large leaf which he binds with a thin creeper, and makes a small package of it, as one makes a package of meat, fish, etc. He gives this package to his wife, who thinks it contains food and opens it without any suspicion. But when she sees the detested arthropod, she throws it far from her with cries of disgust, while her husband says to her, "You are the one who remains with the wɔ́kɔ́." As a result he himself is freed from it.

2) A second means is to take the pregnant woman by the nose when an opportunity presents itself and to say to her: "May the wɔ́kɔ́ remain attached to you."

3) The woman prepares some tɔ́ndɔ́ndɔ́ (manioc leaves [674] salted and dipped in palm oil). The two spouses eat it together contrary to the usual practice. But the husband arranges matters in such a way that his wife gets the last mouthful and keeps the leaf which serves as a plate and represents the wɔ́kɔ́. Then the husband says to her, "Keep the wɔ́kɔ́ for yourself."

The wɔ́kɔ́ cannot be detached from the woman, for she is the bomɔngɔ wɔ́kɔ́, "the owner of the wɔ́kɔ́," the one who is the basis for it. For her it continues until the child is on the point of being born (olɔkɔ́ ɔ́ yɛ́ɛ́ yɔ́ɔ́ndɛ, literally "he has come to the end of his growth," or yɔ́ɔ́kama, "has turned to one side"), and thus, in practice, until the birth of the child.

If a first wife dies at the beginning of her first pregnancy, a cesarian operation must be performed on her. The fetus is removed (it is still no more than an embryo -- ilɔngɛlɛ́ or bokɔlɛ́, literally "an egg," or ilɔngɔ́, literally "blood") so that it can be buried behind the hut. An omission of this practice would result in the death through pregnancy of the deceased's husband's other wives or of the women he will subsequently marry.

THE SOUND OF THE TOMBA

literally that the deceased has banged the heart, the former is used of a tree which bears over and falls from a great cut at its base.

On the announcement of the death, an expert drummer draws out the news. There will be at least four drums of the type known as *lokolo*, and a *mongo*.[1] The four drums are called by the names, *Ejumolo*, having the "biggest voice", that is a deep bass note, *Mongoyo*, having a higher note, *Mongomolo*, a high pitched note, and *Mandoso*, having a very high penetrating note. To these four drums others are added; if the *nkumu* himself did not possess sufficient, they would be borrowed from the surrounding villages, and their notes matched with those of the four above drums, being beaten with them in their turn. *Mandoso* is beaten simultaneously with *Ejumolo*, giving a rhythmic tattoo. When the news of the death has been sent out on *Ejumolo*, the funeral drumming commences, as follows:-

Mongomolo	Bontongoyoo o' Ambo lokolo,
Mongoyo	Ntondo lotsa, esongwondo,
Ejumolo	Tokwaf' ilongo nsokwe' o nyama,
	Ombokokolo nsongo,
	Lolongo lokwala nsondo,
	Bikoko lokwala lokolo,
Nongo	Tokilako nkwi nkongo,
	Tokilako nkwi nkongo, &c.

The English and the interpretation are as follows:-

Mongomolo. A scattering of *Ambo*, the snail. (The mother of twins, always called *Ambo*, have given her name to the snail because of her prolific progeny, which, upon being introduced to the world, scatter, while the mother dies. So the death of the *nkumu* will cause a scattering of his many wives and children.)

Mongoyo. Feathers fall; pick them up. (That is to say, for your arrow shafts, for if you don't, and come back later, the wind will have scattered them and you won't find them. So while the *nkumu* was alive it was the time for his children to learn his teachings so that when poisoners came after his death they would be well acquainted with his wisdom and know how to settle them.)

Ejumolo. We are burying the *dongo*, husband of animals, You have just eaten *nsongo*, The skin looks up at the ridge pole, The jaw bones look up at the sky. (The *dongo* is an animal much prized for its fat meat; the *nkumu* always gets his share when it is killed, and the skin is made into carrying straps for *nkumu*, and into belts. Bawa are prohibited the use of it for any purpose. It is therefore fitting to liken the *nkumu* to the *dongo*. *Mongo* (sing. *Ikongo*) is the equivalent of a snack. When a woman brings her caseava from the swamp where it has been soaking for several days, her husband may be too hungry to wait the long hours required to cook it, so to appease his hunger his wife takes a piece or two of the unprepared root, splits it in two, places salt between, wraps it in a *lokanda* leaf and roasts it in the hot ashes, where it is quickly cooked. So the *nkumu* just had time to eat a few *nsongo*; he didn't wait for the big cooking; his life was suddenly cut off.)

Nongo. Don't pull out the leopard's eyelashes. (That is, while he is alive; now he is dead one can disregard his power.)

[1] A *lokolo* is a slit gong made from a hollowed log. In two areas are produced by striking the two lips of the slit. A *mongo* is a hollowed log, open at one end, across which is stretched a vellum hide.